

34 TEPOZTLAN, A MEXICAN VILLAGE

251 another at right angles to the first until a structure is
 343 raised tall enough to contain the maize to be stored. The *cuezcomate* (N. *cuezcomatl*) is a vasisform granary, plastered inside and out with clay. In it is kept shelled corn.

343 Perhaps every fourth dwelling has a sweathouse (S. *temazcal*; N. *temazcalli*), well known as a part of the pre-Columbian house group. This is made of stone set in mortar. It is rectangular, approximately square, and about five feet high at the center. The roof is low peaked. The one entrance is barely large enough to permit entrance of a man on hands and knees. Al-
 [515] though occasionally now used merely to achieve clean-
 [157] liness, its use, as in pre-Columbian times, is chiefly therapeutic.

• 231 These are all indigenous features. Although bees and
 343 turkeys were domesticated before the Conquest, it is
 [177] not clear to what extent the beehive—a simple wooden box—and the fowlhouse preserve pre-Columbian elements. The fowlhouse (S. *gallinero*; N. *pizcalli*) is a part of nearly every domestic establishment (but in many homes some of the chickens perch on ladders in a corner of the dwelling). It is usually built of stone, to keep out marauding carnivores, and has about the size and form of the sweathouse, except that the roof is tiled. To protect a horse or *burro* a thatched or tiled roof is erected in a corner of the yard. Something in
 312 which to store water completes the house group. This
 415 is either a plastered tank (S. *pila*) or a large jar (S. *tianja*; N. *acomil*) or merely an alcohol tin.

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821 them from the sky. They covet gold; now that the
776 rains have begun and the voices of the *ahuahque* are
[172] frequently heard, women who most fear them take off
[301] their gold earrings for fear that the *ahuahque* might
strike them dead so as to take the jewels.

243 People are busy now, and contented. There is work
[221] for all the men in the *milpas*. The ground is prepared
with a wooden plow. For new-broken or very stony
earth there are a few steel plowshares. Oxen, less com-
[231] monly horses or mules, draw the plow. By now the
corn is a foot high up at San Juan, but in Tepoztlán a
hotter sun demands that the maize be planted after
the rains have come. By the middle of June most of
the *milpas* are planted. At San Juan the grain is
[184] dropped into holes made with a pointed stick. In Te-
poztlán it is dribbled along in furrows; afterward the
earth is heaped up around the young plant with the
coa, the flat hoe with a curved blade.

*796 June 15.—The *chirimía* plays on the roof of the
[533] Templo Mayor because tomorrow is the *fiesta* of
Corpus Christi.

In May or June.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of
Corpus Christi, *Jueves de corporos*. Some go to Yaute-
[439] pec or to Cuernavaca to buy little *burros* made of
[484] straw bearing crates of fruits and sweets.

July 22.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the hamlet
[776] of Amatlán. (This is the saint day of Mary Magda-
lene, patron of this village.)

July 25.—This is the day of the *fiesta* of the village
[535] of Santiago. *Los Apaches* dance at both these *fiestas*.

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* 796 Those who have dead to commemorate carry candles.
 769 These are lit on the graves. Prayers and responses are
 782 said there, and the party remains until eight in the
 evening. For the responses the priest is given money
 by all who celebrate their dead.

243 In December the rains have stopped and the air is
 [132] very clear. The corn is ripe now, and the harvest be-
 gins. The roads are dusty from the feet of men, *bur-
 ros*, and horses, going to the fields with empty sacks
 or returning to the village with loads of maize. In the
 fields groups of men move along the rows, removing
 the ears from the stalks. A broad needle of wood or
 iron is suspended from each wrist and used to slit the
 husks away from the ears. The husks and stalks are
 left as they were; later groups of women will collect
 the husks (*totomochili*) and bind them into bundles to
 be used to wrap *tamales*. Still later the stalks will be
 [231] cut down with the *machete* for fodder.

243 The men always work in groups; the owner of the
 476 field has asked them to help him—it is *cuatequilt*—
 and then when their fields are ripe he will help them
 harvest. These are social occasions. Each group of
 [273] men has *la mulita*, “the little mule”—a bottle of al-
 cohol hidden under a pile of corn. The preparation
 of their dinner is also done co-operatively at the house
 of the owner of the field, and this is a social occasion
 for the women. They carry the dinner to the fields for
 the men. The owner of the field supplies the food and
 drink. But here the co-operative harvesting ends, for

* See p. 146.

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[438] scoops, paying perhaps eight or nine *centavos* a *cuar-*
[435] *tillo*.

By the third week in December the fields below the
[221] town are still and empty. The last loads carried by
[244] the *burros* are of round green squashes, grown among
the corn. Into some fields the cattle are turned to
[231] forage. Above the town, where the fields ripen later,
the harvesting continues, but the work is on the wane.

There is time to rest now, and enjoy the Christmas
*796 *fiestas*. Preparations are under way. In many houses,

[177] particularly in those nearest the *plaza*, where Spanish
influence is strongest and where there may be a little
money to spend, the nine *posadas* are celebrated as
they are celebrated all over Mexico. By this time
the matrons of the neighborhood have arranged in
whose house will take place each of the nine *fiestas*.
Nine women will take turns as hostess, dividing the
responsibility and the expense. Someone has gone to
[437] Oacalco for sugar cane, to Yautepec for peanuts. The
[484] women are making little paper baskets (*alcartazes*) to
hold candies and peanuts.

It is not in one of the larger houses near the *plaza*
[868] that boys are learning to sing the songs of *Los Pas-*
[533] *tores*. In the yard of a smaller, more Indian house in
some street off the *plaza* a score or more of boys are
seated on the ground learning the songs from a
maestro who is the repository of this local tradition.

The *mayordomos*, with their assistants, decorate the
[794] chapels with flowers and cedar boughs and colored
[782] tissue paper. People cut branches of poinsettia, now
[439]

CHART 1. A Synchronic Record of the Activities of Each Member of a Tepostecan Family.

Time (March 28) A.M.	Father	Mother	Elderest Daughter	Second Daughter	Youngest Daughter
6:00-6:30	In bed	Rises, makes fire and coffee	In bed	In bed	In bed
6:30-7:00	Rises, feeds cattle, takes them to pasture	Goes to buy bread, sweeps patio	Rises, sweeps kitchen, prepares utensils	Rises, goes for milk	" "
7:00-7:30	Drinks coffee	Serves husband and self coffee	Grinds corn, makes tortillas	Drinks coffee, cuts and stores dried fish	Rises, washes, combs hair
7:30-8:00	Hauls water, shells corn for mules	Resumes sweeping patio	" "	Smooths and folds laundered clothes	Breakfasts
8:00-8:30	Breakfasts	Combs hair, breakfasts, serves others	" "	Breakfasts	Goes to school
8:30-9:00	Talks with investigator	Cuts squash for animals, cooks squash, shells corn	" "	Makes beds	At school
9:00-9:30	Goes to bed	Arranges squash in market basket	Breakfasts	Sweeps porch	" "
9:30-10:00	In bed	" "	Washes dishes	Washes arms and feet, combs hair	" "
10:00-10:30	" "	Goes to market to sell corn and squash	Prepares corn for grinding	Accompanies mother to market to make purchases	" "
10:30-11:00	" "	At market	Prepares and cooks stew	At market	" "
11:00-11:30	" "	" "	" "	" "	" "
11:30-12:00	" "	" "	" "	Returns home, polishes nails	" "

[p. 63]

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2. Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepostecan NU37

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Harvest: The harvest generally consists of two stages. The first is stripping the cornstalks of their leaves. This process is known as the *sacate* and begins in early November. The leaves are bundled and transported to the house, where they are used for fodder. Stripping a cornfield of ten or twelve *cuartillos* takes six days of work. Sometimes men will compete to see who can strip two rows in the shortest time. The *sacate* is tied into bundles or *garillas*. Twelve *garillas* make up one *manejo* and twelve *manejos* make up one *carga*. These *cargas* of *sacate* are transported home on horse or mule. The transporting of the *sacate* produced on a field of ten to twelve *cuartillos* takes three days of work, using two mules and making two trips a day. 243 [231] [461] [492]

The harvest of the corn itself begins in early December.¹¹ It takes about five days of work to pick the corn on a field of one hectare. A good worker can pick approximately two *cargas* of corn a day. The corn, like the *sacate*, is transported by mule and it takes about the same time, that is, three days. It is customary to celebrate the harvest by serving *pozole* to the helpers and to the men who are hired to transport the corn. During the harvest the wives may help in stripping the leaves off the ears of corn. These leaves are known as *totomaskli* and are used in making tamales. Widows often ask for permission to gather corn leaves to sell. 492 [527] [252] [589]

The *cuatequil* or unpaid cooperative labor system referred to earlier is reserved exclusively for the planting, cultivation, and harvesting of the land owned by the *barrio* for the support of its chapel, and working the *barrio* land is the only occasion for unpaid collective labor in agriculture. There are cases of labor exchange between relatives, but this is viewed as very different from *cuatequil*. I should like to emphasize this point, for Tepoztecan farming is highly individualistic and in this sense quite similar to our own farming. 243 476 [794] [621]

There is some time pressure in harvesting, in those cases in which many privately owned plots are encircled by a single fence or stone wall. The farmer who has completed his harvest is entitled to allow his animals to graze, and this endangers the corn on those fields not yet harvested. To avoid this danger and the many quarrels resulting from it, the farmers within a single enclosure generally come to some agreement to have their plots harvested within a specified time, which agreement is registered with the local authorities. Although this situation would seem to call for cooperative harvesting, each family, with the aid of hired labor, harvests its own field. 243 [231] [578] [476]

In the first few days of January most farmers begin to store the corn in the storage bins that are of two types, the *zincolotes* and the *ahuatlapiques*. The corn is generally stored without being shelled so that it will better resist the corn worms which are a great problem to Tepoztecan. Sometimes a considerable portion of the harvest is eaten or spoiled by these worms. It is customary in many families to leave the corn on the cob until April or May; prior to that, they shell only what they need. 251 [136]

¹¹ Formerly stripping and harvesting were begun after the appearance of the full moon.

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243 The harvesting of corn, like all other operations in agriculture, is done on an
 476 individual family basis, with hired help if necessary. There is a minimum of labor
 114 exchange and cooperation. Our findings differ from those of Redfield. Redfield
 writes:

The men always work in groups; the owner of the field has asked them to help him—it is *cuatequil*—and then when their fields are ripe he will help them harvest. These are social occasions. Each group has *la muleta*, "the little mule"—a bottle of alcohol hidden under a pile of corn. The preparation of their dinner is also done cooperatively at the house of the owner of the field, and this is a social occasion for the women. They carry the dinner to the fields for the men. The owner of the fields supplies the food and drink. But there the cooperative harvesting ends, for the removal of the grain is done separately in each individual house, each member of the family taking a hand.²²

This account refers to a type of cooperation which does not now exist in Tepoztlán, and our informants did not remember its having existed in 1926 or even before the Revolution of 1910. Corn is shelled by both men and women.

243 Women generally shell corn by hand in small quantities for daily use in the house
 462 and for small-scale trade. Large-scale shelling by the *carga* is generally done by
 [412] the men who use an *elotero*, which is made of dry corncobs bound together in the
 form of a flat disc, over which the corn to be shelled is rubbed. Some use the
 [621] black volcanic rock from the *texcal* for shelling. However, the corn selected for
 seed is shelled by hand by the men. Women of the two upper barrios of San
 Pedro and Los Reyes frequently shell corn on a large scale, whereas in the larger,
 center barrios, large-scale shelling is considered a man's work. In many cases
peones are hired for this job. The shelled corn is stored in sacks, for the most part,
 251 although there are still a few of the old *cuescomatl*. (See Fig. 28.) Many families
 [825] put the skeleton of a dog's head or a piece of *ocote* wood and lime in the sacks or
 [824] the *cuescomatl* to protect the corn against spoilage. Formerly when *cuescomatls*
 [788] were made, the priest would be called to bless them. There is a belief that when
 [761] a death occurs, the corn in the house or on the house site will be more subject to
 the ravages of insects.

[242] The loss of stored corn from insects is one of the serious problems faced by
 Tepoztecan. Many farmers complain that they lose a few *cargas* a year in this
 fashion. It is rare to find corn that lasts through to August without being seriously
 damaged by corn worms. Tepoztecan have still received little help with this problem
 from Mexican agronomists.

243 An old tradition persists in the village to the effect that the boa constrictor was
 825 formerly used to prevent stealing of corn from the cornfields and the granary. It is
 231 said that the snake was fed salt and *tequesquite* by the owner of the field, and that
 thereafter the snake would frighten all strangers by climbing up the cornstalk
 and making a whistling noise. These snakes were apparently tame and did not
 harm the owner, but would attack strangers. There seems to have been some

²² Redfield, *Tepoztlán*, pp. 126-27.

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Fig. 28. The cuescomatl for storing corn.

magical qualities associated with the boa constrictor, for it was believed that a man who had tamed one would always have a good yield in his milpa, and that the seed would not be subject to insects.

YIELD

The yield of corn varies a great deal from field to field and from year to year on the same field. Table 30 shows something of this range for specific fields of varying size.

TABLE 30. Estimates of Corn Yields in Plow Culture, 1944.

Size of Milpa (Amount of Seed Planted in Cuernillos)	Yield in Ears of Corn by Carga	Yield in Shelled Corn by Carga
14.0	30.0	20.0
22.0	34.0	23.0
8.0	15.0	10.0
6.0	7.5	5.0
7.5	13.5	9.0
10.0	7.5	5.0
12.0	9.0	6.0

Judging from these figures, we would get an average production of 9.6 cargas of shelled corn a hectare. However, it is possible to arrive at a much more useful

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LIVESTOCK

- 231 There is relatively little livestock in Tepoztlán and most of it is of poor quality. The Revolution of 1910-20 saw the destruction of practically all domestic animals in Tepoztlán, and present herds have been slowly and painfully acquired since then.¹ Tepoztecs, because of their experience during the Revolution, still view investment in cattle as precarious, and they invest only as a steppingstone to the acquisition of land or as a secondary source of investment. It should be noted, however, that cattle raising was never an important industry in Tepoztlán and never became well integrated in the local economy. Topographical conditions and climate in the municipio are not conducive to large-scale stock raising. The land is steep, rocky, and forested; the little level land is used for agriculture. During the dry season, which begins in December, pasture becomes progressively scarce and by March the cattle are excessively thin. In these months, herds are generally reduced by fifteen to twenty per cent.

The care given to cattle is minimal. For the most part, cattle graze on the communal lands and in the cornfields after the harvest. Only milk cows, plow-oxen, and pack mules and horses are given fodder, such as hay or sesame plants, poor corn, and sugar cane stalks brought by Tepoztecs who work on near-by haciendas. Occasionally they are given salt to keep them "tame," and almost any disease or sign of ill health is treated with a mixture of vinegar, lemon, and *sal de niro*. Hoof and mouth disease is treated with applications of iodine to the affected parts, a cure which Tepoztecs claim gives excellent results.

- [232] Care of animals in Tepoztlán consists mostly of guarding them against the danger of being lost or stolen. A great deal of time is spent in watching livestock, irrespective of whether the family owns only one or two animals or a herd of thirty or forty. Cattle stealing is frequent and is one of the hazards of cattle raising. Some families have lost over twenty-five head of cattle in a few years. It is said

¹ Only a few families managed to escape with their animals to southern Guerrero.

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that cattle stealing increases markedly before important fiestas, particularly before the Carnaval in February, the fiesta of Ixcatepec in April, the celebration of the national holidays in August, and All Saints' Day on November first. Cattle thieves are shot on sight, and each year a few are killed.

It is estimated that the families who own considerable cattle spend approximately 140 days during the year in caring for them. A rough estimate of the distribution of the time, based on interviews with a few cattle owners, follows:

Month	Days Spent Guarding Cattle
January	8
February	8
March	8
April	12
May	12
June	4
July	4
August	15
September	30
October	31
November	4
December	4
Total	140

Although cattle and other livestock are an important supplementary source of income, animal ownership is on a small scale and is limited to a relatively small proportion of families. Table 39 presents the distribution of cattle, oxen, horses, mules, donkeys, and hogs among families in each of the barrios.

It can be seen that only 179, or 21 per cent, of the families own cattle. Well over 50 per cent of these families own between one and three cows; about 40 per cent own four to ten cows. The largest herd in 1943 was a little over seventy head, although estimates obtained in 1947 showed much larger herds, with the two wealthiest cattlemen having about 150 head each. There are only about a dozen men in the village who might be said to raise cattle on a large scale, and only six of these have herds of over fifty.

The ownership of oxen is limited to 177, or 20 per cent of the families. Of these, only two families own more than one team of oxen. The low percentage of families owning a team of oxen indicates the limited extent to which Tepoztecan farmers own one of the basic means of production.

The distribution of horses, donkeys, and mules owned by families in the proportions of 28 per cent, 11 per cent, and 14 per cent, respectively, reflects the local evaluation of work animals. Mules are more popular than donkeys, and horses are valued more highly than either. Riding horses as against work horses are considered

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2: Lewis E-5 (1943-1948) 1951 NU37 Tepostlan NU37

TABLE 39. Distribution of Livestock Among Families by Barrio in 1943.

Barrio	Total Families	Families	Cattle	Families	Oxen	Families	Horses	Families	Donkeys	Families	Mules	Families	Hogs
San Miguel	214	56	306	43	43	47	64	17	24	31	39	23	51
Sanco Domingo	223	48	224	31	31	72	92	30	33	27	36	114	270
La Santísima	195	43	316	32	32	59	75	17	25	42	63	126	305
Santa Cruz (large)	82	11	38	14	14	23	30	11	17	3	3	7	13
Santa Cruz (small)	36	6	47	6	6	10	10	1	1	6	8	13	27
Los Reyes	49	8	34	21	21	20	25	18	23	11	19	36	90
San Sebastián	42	4	6	4	6	13	16	8	11	3	4	16	31
San Pedro	22	3	13	6	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
Tepostlán	853	179	1,054	177	179	244	312	92	134	123	174	336	792

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a luxury. The prestige associated with horse ownership goes back to the colonial period when only leading men of the village were allowed to ride a horse.²

Ownership of horses, mules, or donkeys is on a small scale; most families have only one animal. The largest number of work animals owned by a single family is six horses and four mules.

Hogs are more widely distributed among the villagers. About forty per cent of the families of Tepoztlán own at least one hog, and many own two or three. The smaller outlay of capital and the lower gains involved in the purchase and sale of hogs limits hog-ownership to the poorer families. It is interesting to note that a very small proportion of the families in the barrio of San Miguel own hogs despite the fact that this barrio has a large proportion of poor families. This may be attributed to the fact that the road runs through this barrio, and the passing buses and automobiles have killed off too many of the hogs to make hog raising profitable or safe.

Most of the animals used for food are slaughtered in the village. There is practically no trade in cattle or hogs outside of the municipio. There is also relatively little buying and selling of cattle and oxen within the village, since most of them are traditionally purchased in the state of Guerrero where prices are lower. Some men make it a practice to go to Guerrero to buy cattle for resale in Tepoztlán at a nice profit, but this is done on a small scale and only intermittently. Several of the better-to-do farmers became prosperous by doing this during the turbulent years after the Revolution when few dared to leave the village.

It is estimated that a team of oxen work on an average of ninety days a year. Since most families do not own their own oxen, the oxen owners do a good deal of custom work. In 1947 an oxen owner charged 16 pesos per day, that is 4 pesos for the driver and 12 pesos for the team. The income from renting a team of oxen for a ninety-day period would therefore be 1,080 pesos, less about 120 pesos for the cost of feed. When oxen are rented by the season, the charge is generally only 200 pesos, but the renter has the obligation of feeding and caring for the animals and assumes all responsibility in case of accident or death. Plow-oxen are also rented in exchange for corn, generally for six *cargas* of corn, worth about 300 pesos in 1947.

Mules and donkeys are considered to yield an even greater income than plow oxen, for they can be rented for a greater variety of jobs and for longer periods. Mules are used primarily for transporting charcoal, wood, corn, and beans. The rental for two mules was 14 pesos a day in 1947. The income from a team of mules would therefore be close to 500 pesos over a ninety-day period.

Hogs are bought, fattened, and sold by many families, but the profit is kept low because of the local custom of fattening hogs with good corn, which is expensive. A young pig costs about 30 pesos and after a year of fattening can be sold to a butcher for 225 pesos. The cost of food per day runs to about 50 centavos, or 18%.

² For documents on this point see *Indios*, Vol. 4, Exp. 398.

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231 pesos per year. Adding to this the cost of the pig, we have an expense of 212½
434 pesos. If the pig is sold for 225, there is a profit of only 12½ pesos after a year's work.

[435] Raising pigs would seem to be more profitable, but the risk is also greater. A year-old breeder pig costs about 150 pesos, and feed for a year runs to 182½—a total expense of 332½ pesos. An average litter of eight, sold at 30 pesos each, gives an income of 240 pesos, providing there are no losses. This income can be obtained for three or four years in succession and then the pig can be fattened and sold for 250 to 300 pesos.

231 The price of livestock, like that of most other items, has increased greatly since
435 the turn of the century. The sharpest increase has occurred since 1940. (See Table 40.)

TABLE 40. Price of Work Animals in Pesos, 1901-1944.

Years	Flow Oxen	Mules	Horses	Donkeys
1901-1910	40	60	35	15
1911-1920	35	30	25	15
1921-1925	50	100	40	20
1926-1930	60	125	50	25
1931-1935	65	125	60	25
1936	70	150	70	30
1937	75	170	75	30
1938	80	175	75	30
1939	85	180	80	30
1940	100	180	85	30
1941	110	200	100	35
1942	125	200	125	35
1943	200	200	125	50
June, 1944	400	300	200	75

234 Milk is sold locally by less than a dozen families. The local market consists of a
438 small but increasing group of schoolteachers and Mexican tourists. Most of the milk produced is converted into cheese and sold in the village. It is estimated that a cow produces an average of two liters of milk daily during a period of seven months a year. At current prices of 45 centavos a liter, this would give an annual income of 159 pesos plus about 50 pesos for the value of the calf.

231 Cattle owners will often pay the priest to say a Mass for the protection of the
782 cattle, and are expected to contribute generously to religious fiestas. When a cow or ox is sold, it is customary for the seller to use a portion of the money to light a candle to El Señor de Ixcatepec. When there are *jarpeos* and bullfights, the larger operators generally contribute bulls and money for *ponche* and fireworks.

776 Most cattle owners have an image of San Antonio, the patron saint of cattle,
777 in their homes. Horseshoes are believed to bring good luck and are seen on the walls of many houses, especially in the homes of livestock owners.

789 To keep cattle from wandering away, it was customary for the owner to cut off hair from the ear of the cow or ox and bury it under the hearth. This was done

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with cattle brought in from Guerrero in the belief that the animal would forget its past home.

Milk products are used for medicinal purposes. Whey, cheese, and butter are used for skin rashes, and cheese is used as a poultice for snake bites. Some families use, as a purgative, milk in which a cow's tail has been soaked. Pig's fat is commonly used as a salve for inflammations.

CHARCOAL

The production of charcoal by the burning of oak and other woods is one of the most important sources of income for many Tepoztecan families, but primarily for the poor. Charcoal production demands very little capital and few tools; it utilizes the communal forest resources; it serves as a convenient source of income for the landless peasants and as a supplementary source of income for those engaged in agriculture. As a rule, charcoal production is carried on as a part-time activity by farmers during the slack season. But in the smaller barrios of San Pedro, Los Reyes, and San Sebastián, about fifteen individuals engage in charcoal production as a full-time occupation.

Charcoal production has risen and fallen at different times in recent Tepoztecan history. Charcoal production on a large scale began shortly after the Revolution, when Tepoztecan returned to the village from their enforced exile. Desperately poor and with all their animals killed off, they eagerly turned to charcoal as a salvation. This development was encouraged and organized by a provisional president of the municipio, Jesús Monroy, who was imposed by the state authorities in 1919 shortly after peace was established in the village. Monroy called a meeting of Tepoztecan and organized workers into brigades of charcoal burners. As a result, a large portion of the forests of Tepoztlán was practically denuded, and there arose in the village a cleavage between those who wished to conserve the forest resources and those who cut the trees for charcoal.

During the late twenties, Tepoztlán organized a forestry cooperative, the first in the state of Morelos, and large-scale production began again. Conflict ensued and the cooperative ceased to exist in 1937. Since that time, charcoal production has continued on an individual basis. Data on charcoal production in the municipio are available for the years 1934-42. (See Table 41.) During this period 3,921,518 pounds of charcoal were produced. These figures are in all probability lower than the actual amount, for much charcoal is produced secretly in violation of federal forestry regulations.

The tools used in charcoal production are an ax, a shovel, a pickax, and a machete. Charcoal workers generally leave the village for the mountains in the early morning, going alone or in groups of two or three friends or relatives. It is not customary to hire workers in this occupation, because most workers must come home at the end of the day, and charcoal burning necessitates staying out for a few days at a time. To make charcoal, oak and sometimes pine trees are felled cut up into logs a few feet long, and piled upright to form a charcoal oven or

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245 A survey of the numbers of *ciruela* trees in the village by barrio is shown in
433 Table 42.
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TABLE 42. Estimate of Number of *Ciruela* Trees, Average Yield, and Value of Harvest, 1944.

Barrio	No. of Trees	Average Yield per Tree in Guacales	No. of Guacales	Crop Value in Pesos
San Pedro	86	4	344	2,064
San Sebastián	127	4	508	3,048
Los Reyes	377	4	1,508	9,048
Santa Cruz (small)	153	4	612	3,672
Santa Cruz (large)	139	4	556	3,336
San Miguel	411	4	1,644	9,864
Santo Domingo	633	4	2,532	15,192
La Santísima	595	4	2,380	14,280
Tepoztlán	2,521			60,504

245 There has been a notable increase in the price of *ciruelas* since 1926, as can be
435 seen from Table 43.

TABLE 43. *Ciruela* Prices, 1926-1943.

Year	Price per Gross, in Pesos ^a	
	Commercially Ripened	Tree Ripened ^b
1926	.12	
1927	.12	
1928	.13	
1929	.14	
1930	.15	
1931	.17	
1932	.20	
1933	.20	
1934	.23	
1935	.25	
1936	.25	
1937	.20	.30
1938	.20	.35
1939	.30	.40
1940	.30	.50
1941	.40	.60
1942	.50	.70
1943	.60	.80

^a The average of the prices recorded during the harvest season for each year. Prices are highest at the beginning of the harvest and in the middle of August; they decline as the production increases until the end of the harvest, about the middle of November.

^b Until 1937, nearly all tree-ripened *ciruelas* were used for home consumption and for bags.

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Today

252 almost every house has a hearth made of three stones set in a triangle, or of stones
 511 plastered in the shape of a horseshoe, to support the griddle. It is no longer always
 354 located on the floor, but is frequently raised to almost table-height by means of a
 [177] cement platform. The use of platforms has been stimulated by the cultural missions
 [658] that have visited the village and demonstrated to the more interested and enter-
 [556] prising women some ways of improving their homes. The *braseiro*, a raised clay
 252 stove with two or three charcoal-burning iron grates on top, is generally still
 571 found only in better-to-do homes and is used sparingly or only for preparing fiesta
 [415] meals. The *comal* (griddle), which in Redfield's time was always clay, is now
 frequently iron, and many families own one of each type. Though the *comal* is
 still an indispensable utensil in every home, the increasing consumption of bread,
 especially for breakfast and supper, makes it somewhat less used than formerly.
 The same is true of the *metate* (grinding stone), since almost all women now have
 [412] their corn ground at the mill. But every home has one or more *metates* for re-
 grinding mill-ground corn and for emergencies. *Metates* are also used for coffee
 [256] and for large quantities of chile for fiestas. Despite the commercial mills, no
 [415] Tepoztecán woman would set up housekeeping without her own *metate*. Finally,
 the *olla*, mentioned by Redfield, is the clay pot in which the maize for tortillas is
 cooked. To this utensil must be added the pot for beans, another for coffee, and
 another for meat. Most families have one large pot to retain the water in which
 maize has been soaked and cooked, and the water needed to moisten the woman's
 hands as she makes tortillas. This water, which contains some nourishment, is then
 [231] fed to the pigs.

571 The remaining house furnishings are relatively few; they consist mainly of
 513 sleeping equipment, religious articles, and various containers for storage. For
 [352] sleeping there are three kinds of beds: the *petate* or straw mat placed on the floor;
 the *tepecero*, a raised bed of bamboo sticks tied together and placed on a wooden
 frame or on two sawhorses; and a brass or iron bedstead with metal springs over
 which a *petate*, rather than a mattress, is generally placed. The great majority of
 the population sleep either on the floor or on the *tepecero*, and only 19.29 per cent
 sleep on a bed or cot.⁴ The proportion of those who sleep on a bed or cot for Mexico
 as a whole is far greater (61.1 per cent), and even for communities of 10,000 or
 less inhabitants it is 53.4 per cent.⁵

The majority of Tepoztecos sleep on the floor because they lack the funds to
 buy beds, but most of the older generation, regardless of their economic status,
 [177] sleep that way by preference. Many an acculturated family has sought without suc-
 [953] cess to accustom the old mother or grandmother to sleeping on a bed. Some old
 people are afraid of falling off during the night, others say that to sleep off the
 ground is to be more subject to *los aires* (evil winds). One old woman told her
 grandchildren that it is better to sleep on the floor because it is closer to mother

⁴ This figure was derived from a special tabulation of census data for Tepoztlán taken from the Mexican Census of 1940.

⁵ Whetten, *Rural Mexico*, p. 291.

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735

¾ kilo sugar	23
Bread	20
Coffee	10
Drinking alcohol for parents	30
Milling corn	32
Total	800
Source of funds:	
None	

262
571
735

The amount earned by this family for the week was 97.95 pesos in cash and corn. The outgo was 48.60 for food, 33.00 to repay debts, and 24.03 for non-food items, leaving a deficit of 7.68. The hand-to-mouth, day-to-day existence, involving borrowing, receiving wages in advance, and buying food and necessities to last one day or so, is readily apparent from this record. Although approximately 50 per cent of the income is spent on food, the diet is monotonous and sparse, and conforms with our previous description of the diet of a poor family. During these seven days, the family ate no meat, no milk, no eggs, and no fruit. Wild greens were eaten in large quantities approximately every other day, but they have not been included in the record since they were gathered by the family and involved no expense. Corn makes up 69.8 per cent of the food expenditure and is eaten in large quantities.

[231]

The irregularity of food consumption, depending upon the amount of cash on hand, is more apparent from a study of our full record. For example, in the week of August 4 to 11, three and one-half kilos of meat were purchased, but during the rest of the month almost no meat was bought. Also, when there is money or corn, the family eats 7½ *cuartillos* of corn, but when money is lacking, consumption goes down to three *cuartillos*. When there is no money, the mule is taken to pasture to save buying hay, and the turkeys and chickens are sold or left to fend for themselves. To save money, the mother and daughter sometimes grind corn on the *metate* instead of at the mill.

261

[622]

Tepoztecan are very food conscious, as might be expected in view of the food situation we have described, and they show a keen interest in the eating habits of their relatives and neighbors. There is much gossip and criticism, often contradictory in nature, concerning the type of foods eaten by others and the amount spent on food. For example, the poor say, "The rich do not eat well because they are too stingy," or the poor are frankly envious of those who "eat better because they are rich." The better-to-do scornfully characterize the poor as eating only tortillas and salt, and those in the larger *barrios* contend that families in the small *barrios* of San Pedro and Los Reyes eat only two meals a day because they are "backward." Older or more conservative individuals criticize "modern" families for being presumptuous and unthrifty in eating too well, and the latter in turn accuse the former of ignorance concerning proper eating. Much of the talk about food reflects the changing standards of diet and the importance of food habits for social status. The interest in food and the critical attitude toward the eating habits of others may be a carry-over of the behavior which we have noted among children in the home.

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INVESTMENTS

The most common form of investment among rich and poor in Tepoztlán is the purchase of animals. In 1944, the investments of both families were as follows:

Family I	Pesos	Family II	Pesos
Purchase of cattle and other animals	670.00	Purchase of four pigs during year for 58. (Two died and two were sold for 52, resulting in a loss of 6.)	58.00
Animal feed	972.24	Purchase of two chickens	10.00
		Feed for chickens for two months	4.20
Total	1,642.24	Total	72.20

The above expenditures constitute 28 per cent of the total expenditures of Family I, and 7 per cent of those of Family II.

MISCELLANEOUS

	Family I (Pesos)	Family II (Pesos)
Flour	25.00	
5 Flour-scrappers	12.50	
Dishes, comal, clay pots	48.00	10.25
Barbershop:		
Father and son	20.40	Father 15.25
Daughter	8.50	
Stamps	25.00	
Gifts by daughter to friends	40.00	
Total	179.40	Total 25.50

The expenditures for miscellaneous items are 3 per cent of the total expenditures for both families.

SPENDING PATTERNS

The spending patterns, indicated in the annual expenditures of these two families, can be taken as typical for the socio-economic levels which they represent. Family I, like other acculturated families in the middle and upper groups, spends relatively large proportions of its income on items connected with comfort and health, such as food, household articles, house repair, doctors, and medicines. Expenditures for clothing, birthdays, and other fiestas celebrated within the home are also comparatively large, sometimes reaching the point of conspicuous consumption. Families of this type usually spend more than other families to educate their children. Expenditures for diversion and contributions to the church and other religious activities are proportionately small. Economic investments, which represent the largest and most important expenditure among the majority of well-to-do Tepoztecan families, is, in this acculturated family, little more than one-fourth of all expenditures.

Family II, like most poor families in Tepoztlán and, indeed, everywhere else,

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661 a sorry picture. Inefficiency, irresponsibility of officials, dishonesty and graft, lack of
 641 local funds for public improvements, betrayal by leaders, widespread suspicion of
 171 the government and its motives, lack of village unity, and apathy are among the
 salient traits.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

646 The local government is known as the *ayuntamiento* and consists of the follow-
 [625] ing officers: president, *sindico procurador*, *regidor de hacienda*, secretary of the
ayuntamiento, treasurer, police chief, sub-police chief, *juez menor*, secretary to the
juez menor, and porter. In addition there are eight *ayudantes*, each representing
 one of the *demarcaciones* of the village. The president, *sindico*, *regidor*, and *juez*
menor are elected by popular vote for a two-year period.¹ The other officials are
 appointed by the president in agreement with the *sindico* and *regidor*.

[647] The duties of the major officials are determined by state law. The way in which
 the officials function depends upon their personalities. A meek president will serve
 only as a figurehead and allow the *sindico* and secretary to run the government.
 An aggressive president may in turn take over the functions of the other officials.
 The president is the executive officer and as such is the official representative of
 the village in dealings with the outside. His signature is necessary for most cor-
 [68] respondence and official acts. He sets the fines for infractions of the law; in addi-
 tion, the inhabitants often bring their private difficulties and family quarrels to him.

646 The *sindico* is charged with responsibility for protecting the communal re-
 656 sources of the municipio, that is, the lands, forests, and water resources. It is he
 who guards the titles to these resources. He has authority to use the local police to
 apprehend anyone suspected of immoderate or illegal use of communal resources.
 The *sindico*, together with the president, inspects the accounts of the municipio.

• [237] In addition, he is responsible for the inspection of cattle before they are slaughtered
 to determine that they are not diseased. He must inspect the cattle brands to be
 sure that the cattle have not been stolen. Furthermore, he is the sub-agent of the
 [648] Ministerio Público, and in this capacity acts as an attorney general, responsible for
 investigating all violations of the laws of the state.

646 The *regidor* is responsible for the financial operations of the municipio, and the
 treasurer serves as his assistant.

By far the greatest number of tasks falls to the secretary of the *ayuntamiento*. He
 is generally the most literate of the officials, and the present officeholder is a com-
 petent typist. He opens and closes the government offices six days a week, signs all
 correspondence, attends all public functions, maintains the records of the municipio,
 advises the other officers of the state law, keeps the president informed of all com-
 plaints, and attends to all complaints and requests for certifications.

625 The chief of police is directly responsible to the president and the entire *ayun-*

[642] ¹ There have also been other changes in the number of government employees. The present
 government organization follows the requirements of the State Constitution of 1930. From 1910-30
 the state of Morelos was under military rule.

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from his father. A man who fathers children with many women is placed under no social pressure to support his offspring or to marry the mother of any of them. Even in the case of a daughter's elopement, an act made worse by its rebellious flouting of parental authority, forgiveness is usually forthcoming after a lapse of time. 626
831
[848]
[583]

Sexuality is discouraged from childhood on; sex is a taboo subject within the home. Infant sexuality, masturbation, and sexual play among children, as well as curiosity concerning the bodily functions, is forbidden and punished. It is one of the more important obligations of the parent to keep their children "innocent," or, as they say, "to keep their eyes from being opened." The separation of the sexes for work and play begins from about age seven to ten and is strictly enforced at puberty. Coeducation in the school violated this basic attitude and was bitterly opposed by parents. Girls are unprepared for menstruation, which comes as a shock to most of them; girls will rarely confide in their mothers about menstruation or other intimate subjects. 864
831
[839]
[562]
[872]
[841]

In most inter-personal situations, Tepoztecs do not express affection in a demonstrative fashion and generally avoid bodily contact. Perhaps the major exception to this occurs in the mother-child relationship during the nursing period, when the child is held, fondled, and sometimes kissed. In courtship there is an increasing amount of demonstrativeness and physical contact, but kissing is still not customary. 152
[854]
[832]

Tepoztecs learned the Spanish custom of kissing the hand of the priest and of parents and godparents, but it never came easily to them and is now disappearing. The shaking of hands in greeting and departure and the typical Mexican double embrace are not generally practised in Tepoztlán and occur only among politicians and some of the more civilized families. When Tepoztecs are drunk, this restraint is frequently relaxed, and male companions will walk arm in arm, and men may hug and even kiss their children and wives in the privacy of their homes. 576
152
[201]
[273]

It must be apparent from the preceding pages that Tepoztecs are not, on the whole, a very affectionate people and that means of expressing affection are limited. Normally, the Tepoztec shows his affection for his children by hard work, good habits, and by providing them with the necessities of life; the child expresses his affection for his parents by obedience, respect, and diligence. Other inter-personal relations reveal good will or affection in so far as they fulfill the required reciprocal behavior. If these formal or practical qualities exist between people, Tepoztecs consider that they have a satisfactory relation with each other, and little else is demanded. 152
156
[593]
[571]

Between parents and children there is now a noticeable tendency, particularly among the younger generation, to express affection and to seek it in terms of greater demonstration of personal interest in each other, in their wants and needs and general welfare over and above life's bare necessities. This interest may be expressed by greater giving of food, clothing, toys, sweets, gifts, and now, by a willingness to make sacrifices for an education. Tepoztecs, particularly men, [593]
[231]

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● 231 often express affection most easily toward their dogs and other favorite animals.

152 The limited expression of affection in Tepoztlán is part of a larger pattern whereby what might be called the positive emotions—love, tenderness, kindness, sympathy, generosity, and joy—are less easily expressed and not as well developed as the negative ones, such as anger, hate, irritability, fear, jealousy, and envy. One of our informants with more insight than most Tepoztecs succinctly described the lack of warmth and positive emotion by saying, “Somos muy secos,” that is, [828] “We are dry.” This is related to their general world view and their conception of human beings, both of which tend to stimulate negative emotional responses.

156 There is a readiness to view people as potentially dangerous, and the most characteristic initial reaction to others is suspicion and distrust. Lack of trust is 571 not only present among non-relatives but also exists within families and affects [609] the relations of husbands and wives, parents and children, and brothers and sisters. This is not a neurotic distrust, but one rooted in the hard realities of Tepoztecan [593] social and economic life, in patterns of child-training, and in a long history of conquest, colonial status, and internal and external political and economic [182] exploitation. In Tepoztlán, the motives of everyone are suspected, from the highest public officials of the nation, to the local priest, and even to close relatives. It is assumed that anyone in a position of power will use it to his own advantage at the [64] expense of others. Honest government or leadership is considered an impossibility; altruism is not understood. The frank, direct person, if he exists anywhere in Tepoztlán, is considered naive or the greatest rogue of all, so powerful or shameless as to have no need to conceal his deeds or thoughts. An individual who is obliging without cost to those who seek his aid is understood to have some as yet unrevealed plan for capitalizing on his position.

156 Friendships, as defined in terms of mutual trust, loyalty, aid, and affection directed toward one individual are few in Tepoztlán, and are avoided rather than 572 sought. Friendship as such is not a Tepoztecan ideal and is not institutionalized in the form of a best friend or in any other way. Cases of lifelong friendships are rare and are almost always limited to the more acculturated families. Friends are viewed by adults as potential enemies, as a source of trouble, and as a waste of time. [562] Traditionally women and girls are not supposed to have any friends whatsoever. While one may have friendly relations with individuals in Tepoztlán, these relations are segmented in that each is limited to one or two purposes. With one individual, there may be a work exchange relationship; with another, a borrowing relationship; and with others, a drinking relationship.

An exception to this is a type of friendship among men and youths known as the *cuate*, which means “twins.”⁶ These are more in the nature of close alliances made between two or more individuals of the same age group for a more generalized companionship. The *cuate* is depended upon for loyalty and defense in time of trouble, for political support, and for companionship in drinking, in

[177] ⁶ The *cuate* is not traditional in Tepoztlán, having been introduced by soldiers from outside during the Revolution.

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be bewitched as a result of romantic entanglements, and some mothers express anxiety over this and warn their children to be careful. Chronic illness and most deaths accompanied by swelling of the head or other parts of the body are frequently attributed to sorcery.

This situation makes for an oppressive atmosphere, particularly for those individuals who are striving to improve themselves or who, for one reason or another, deviate from strict conformity. It is most true for the more educated or acculturated minority and for a few of the well-to-do. Many of these people give evidence of neuroticism and display the type of tension and discomfort so often noted among marginal groups who live within two cultures, not wholly accepting or being wholly accepted by either. We have had occasion to observe some of these people who moved to México City, subsequent to our acquaintance with them, and we were astonished to note the transformation which they invariably underwent. Their faces had become less impassive; they had gained weight; they looked happier and more relaxed; they laughed more and behaved with far less formality.

One girl who went to the United States with us described herself as feeling that a great weight had been lifted off her shoulders from the time she left Tepoztlán. She no longer had to worry about gossip, criticism, sorcery, secrecy, and felt more free to express herself as she wished. Of course, this sensation is common among all people who shift from a small rural town to a large city, but in Tepoztecas we noted more striking physiological, psychological, and personality changes.

The sanctions against the overt expression of aggression in inter-personal relations sometimes give rise to an interesting type of disease locally known as *muina*, an illness caused by anger, in which aggression is apparently turned inward against the self. The symptoms of *muina* are loss of appetite, inability to take food, vomiting, loss of weight, and very often death. *Muina* is a fairly common condition and occurs among members of both sexes, primarily among adults but sometimes even among children. It may be caused by insult, humiliation, bad luck, or any other frustration which arouses anger. People with *muina* are not supposed to eat certain foods lest they become seriously ill. The dangerous foods include pork, eggs, milk, bananas, avocados, *chirimoya*, and most "hot" foods.⁶

There are also situations in which the direct expression of aggression is sanctioned, and other occasions in which it is expressed despite community sanctions against it.

Aggression is sometimes expressed directly in the beating of children, wife, or younger sisters or brothers. Men also beat their animals in moments of anger, although generally they are careful not to injure them. Attitudes toward wife beating and child-beating have been changing in the direction of disapproval. In extreme cases of cruelty, the guilty party may be denounced to the authorities and punished. Most cases of wife-beating now occur only when the men are drunk.

⁶ It is interesting to note that most of the foods to be avoided contain considerable fat or oil. This suggests the possibility that the emotional disturbance causes liver disorder which makes the patient extremely sensitive to fat and unable to digest it.